

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01

ACDA-05 IO-11 EUR-12 AID-05 OMB-01 /088 W

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R 061130Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 658

INFO AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY KIGALI

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL ZANZIBAR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0406

E.O 11652: XLDS-3

TAGS: MILI, PFOR, TZ

SUBJECT: REGIONAL ARMS RESTRAINTS STUDY

REF: STATE 020621

BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL/GDS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: DESPITE AN ANTI-MILITARISTIC OUTLOOK,
TANZANIA HAS SUBSTANTIALLY BUILT UP ITS ARMED FORCES IN MEN
AND HARDWARE'S THIS BUILDUP, AT SUBSTANTIAL COST TO A VERY POOR COUNTRY, WAS ORIGINALLY
AIMED AT A POTENTIAL THREAT
FROM PORTUGAL; IT NOW SEEMS PRIMARILY MOTIVATED BY THE EXTERNAL

THREAT OF

AMIN'S REGIME IN UGANDA. TANGOV DOES NOT GIVE ARMY

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HIGH PRESTIGE OR RELY ON IT FOR DOMESTIC ORDER. WE BELIEVE

TANGOV LIKELY TO RESTRAIN FURTHER PURCHASE OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS TO NEEDS OF PERCEIVED EXTERNAL THREATS, AND MIGHT BE RECEPTIVE TO GENERAL RESTRAINTS UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES. HOWEVER, PROSPECTS FOR DIRECT US ROLE IN ENCOURAGING THIS ARE MINIMAL. END SUMMARY.

2. TANZANIA IS CIVILIAN-RULED NATION WITH TRADITIONALLY ANTI-MILITARISTIC OUTLOOK, BUT HAS NEVERTHELESS IN PAST FEW YEARS SUBSTANTIALLY AUGMENTED ITS ARMED FORCES, IN MANPOWER AND HARDWARE, DESPITE VERY SEVERE BUDGETARY CONSTRAINTS. PREDICTIONS OF TANZANIAN RESPONSE TO ANY PROPOSED RECIPROCAL RESTRAINTS ON TRANSFERS OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS, OR RESTRAINTS IN ITS OWN FUTURE UNILATERAL ACQUISITION OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS, MUST BE BASED IN LARGE PART ON ANALYSIS OF REASONS BEHIND THIS APPARENTLY PARADOXICAL BUILDUP.

END CONFIDENTIAL/GDS; BEGIN SECRET/XGDS-3

3. WITH CLOSE TO 20,000 MEN UNDER ARMS, THE TANZANIAN PEOPLE'S DEFENSE FORCE (TPDF) CONSUMES A MINIMUM OF ONE QUARTER OF NATIONAL BUDGET. IN PAST FIVE YEARS IT HAS GROWN SUBSTANTIALLY IN TERMS OF MEN AND SOPHISTICATED MILITARY HARDWARE, INCLUDING ARMS AND AIRCRAFT SUPPLIED FREE OR ON CONCESSIONARY TERMS BY CHINA SINCE EARLY 1970'S, AND MORE RECENT PURCHASES FOR CASH FROM SOVIETS OF AIRCRAFT, MISSILES, AND ARTILLERY. SOVIET JET AIRCRAFT AND MISSILES ON ORDER WILL COST ABOUT US\$75 MILLION, AND OVER 2,000 MEN ARE UNDERGOING TRAINING, AT TANZANIAN EXPENSE, IN USSR. TANZANIA IS ALSO SEEKING PURCHASE MILITARY EQUIPMENT (LARGELY NONCOMBAT ITEMS) FROM OTHER SUPPLIERS IN EAST AND WEST.

END SECRET/XGDS-3; BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL
P/GDS

4. TANZANIA'S THOROUGHLY CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT HAS ALWAYS FEARED THE MILITARY AS POTENTIAL THREAT, BOTH BECAUSE OF ABORTIVE 1964 MILITARY MUTINY, AND SUCCESSION OF MILITARY COUPS IN OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA. TANGOV HAS RELIED ON POLICE AND INTERNAL INTELLIGENCE TO PRESERVE DOMESTIC ORDER, SO FAR WITHOUT SERIOUS DIFFICULTY. MILITARY OFFICERS ARE CONSTANTLY TRANSFERRED, AND THE OFFICER CORPS OCCASIONALLY PURGED, TO PREVENT DEVELOPMENT
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OF POLITICALLY SIGNIFICANT FACTIONS OR TRIBAL CLIQUES. MOREOVER, TANZANIA DOES NOT FLAUNT ITS MILITARY WEAPONS AND TROOPS ARE SELDOM PLACED ON PUBLIC DISPLAY, AND SUCH PUBLICITY AS THE ARMED FORCES RECEIVE IS MOSTLY DEVOTED TO THEIR NATIONAL-BUILDING ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES. TANZANIA'S NATIONAL STYLE DOES NOT REQUIRE IT TO "KEEP UP WITH THE JONASES" IN MATTERS OF FANCY EQUIPMENT, MILITARY OR OTHERWISE. TANZANIA'S DETERMINATION TO ACQUIRE SOPHISTICATED CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS THUS SEEMS NOT

MOTIVATED BY PRIMARILY DOMESTIC CONCERNS. NEVERTHELESS, TANGOV IS AWARE THAT HAPPY ARMIES ARE LOYAL ARMIES, AND THAT MODERN HARDWARE PLAYS A PART IN THE JOB SATISFACTION OF PROFESSIONAL SOLDIERS.

5. TANZANIA FIRST BEGAN TO BUILD UP ITS ARMED FORCES AS A COUNTER TO A PERCEIVED DANGER OF PORTUGUESE RETALIATION AGAINST TANZANIAN SUPPORT FOR MOZAMBIKAN GUERRILLAS AFTER 1964, AND OF PORTUGUESE ATTACKS ON FRELIMO BASES INSIDE TANZANIA. THIS THREAT NEVER MATERIALIZED TO ANY SIGNIFICANT EXTENT, AND ENDED WITH THE ACCESSION OF MOZAMBIQUE TO INDEPENDENCE IN 1975.

6. THIS LEAVES UGANDA AS THE ONLY NEIGHBOR OF TANZANIA POSING ANY CURRENT SIGNIFICANT MILITARY THREAT TO IT. UGANDA WHICH HAS LONG STANDING CLAIM TO TANZANIAN SALIENT WEST OF LAKE VICTORIA, HAS ACQUIRED SUBSTANTIAL QUANTITIES OF SOPHISTICATED WEAPONRY, HAS LIBYAN AND PALESTINIAN ADVISORS WHO MAN THEM, AND UNDER ERRATIC PRESIDENT AMIN HAS PERIODICALLY THREATENED TO INVADE AND DESTROY TANZANIA BECAUSE OF ITS SUPPORT OF OUSTED PRESIDENT OBOTE, WHO RESIDES IN TANZANIA.

7. TANZANIA HAS ALWAYS GIVEN MORAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT TO AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, AND WILLINGLY SERVES AS A CONDUIT FOR SOVIET, CHINESE AND OTHER WEAPONS DESTINED FOR THEM. HOWEVER, TANZANIA HAS NOT PROVIDED SUBSTANTIAL QUANTITIES OF WEAPONS TO THEM FROM ITS OWN STOCKS, AND HAS CONSISTENTLY INSISTED THAT TANZANIANS WILL NEVER BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE, EVEN AS ADVISORS, IN THE ACTUAL FIGHTING CONDUCTED BY SUCH MOVEMENTS. THE TANZANIAN BUILDUP THUS DOES NOT SEEM INTENDED TO BENEFIT GUERRILLA MOVEMENTS IN RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, OR ELSEWHERE.

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0406

8. DOES TANZANIA HAVE OTHER POSSIBLE WARS IN MIND? A NUMBER OF ITS NEIGHBORS HAVE REGIMES WHICH TANZANIA CONSIDERS REACTIONARY, "NEO-COLONIALIST" AND IN LONG RUN INCOMPATIBLE WITH ASPIRATIONS OF AFRICANS AND THE WINDS OF HISTORY. IT NOT INCONCEIVABLE THAT TANZANIA FORESEES, AND FEELS IT MUST PREPARE FOR, FURTHER POST-COLONIAL CONFLICTS BETWEEN "PROGRESSIVE" AND "REACTIONARY" FORCES, OF THE SORT IT WOULD INSIST IS NOW GOING ON IN ANGOLA. AT GREATER RANGE, GEOGRAPHICALLY, TANZANIA MAY ALSO FEAR -- AND FEEL NEED TO PREPARE FOR -- MILITARY CONFRONTATION BETWEEN BLACK AFRICAN AND WHITE SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT HAVE ANY CONCRETE EVIDENCE THAT TANZANIA IS ARMING ITSELF WITH EITHER OF THESE CONTINGENCIES IN THE FOREFRONT OF ITS THINKING.

9. BASED ON THE ABOVE, WE BELIEVE THAT TANZANIA WILL TEND TO CONTINUE ITS ARMS PURCHASES AT THE LEVEL DEEMED NECESSARY TO MEET EXTERNAL DEFENSE NEEDS. TO THE EXTENT THAT THE MAJOR
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THREAT PERCEIVED TODAY IS THAT OF UGANDA, THESE PERCEIVED NEEDS ARE LIKELY TO DEPEND ON THE FUTURE CAREER OF PRESIDENT AMIN. GIVEN HIS UNPREDICTABILITY, TANZANIA WILL PROBABLY FEEL CONSTRAINED TO MAINTAIN A RELATIVELY HIGH LEVEL OF MILITARY PREPARATION SO LONG AS AMIN REMAINS IN POWER, PERHAPS TO SOME EXTENT TRYING TO MATCH HIS HARDWARE ACQUISITIONS.

10. TANZANIA MIGHT CONSIDER SERIOUSLY PROPOSALS FOR MULTILATERAL RESTRAINT IN TRANSFERS OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS, IF THESE SEEMED LIKELY TO OFFER SIGNIFICANT BUDGETARY SAVINGS WITHOUT ENDANGERING TANZANIAN SECURITY OR ITS POSITION OF "NONALIGNMENT". FOR ANY GENERAL SYSTEM OF RESTRAINT TO BE ATTRACTIVE, IT WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO INCLUDE THE BLESSING OF OAU, ACQUIESCENCE OF MAJOR COMMUNIST ARMS SUPPLIERS, AND -- PROBABLY -- FURTHER PROGRESS IN DENYING WESTERN EUROPEAN ARMS AND TECHNOLOGY TO SOUTH AFRICA.

11. WERE AMIN GOVERNMENT TO BE SUCCEEDED BY A REGIME FRIENDLY

WITH TANZANIA, A MORE LIMITED ARRANGEMENT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE WITHIN
CONTEXT OF EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY -- THOUGH KENYA'S MILITARY NEEDS
VIS-A-VIS SOMALIA WOULD REMAIN A KEY QUESTION.

12. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION RAISED PARA 2 REFTEL, TANZANIA WOULD
UNDOUBTEDLY BE TEMPTED TO ACQUIRE MOST TYPES OF SOPHISTICATED
WEAPONS OFFERED TO HER WITHOUT COST, THOUGH IT WOULD TAKE INTO
CONSIDERATION THE OPERATING AND MAINTENANCE COSTS WHICH SUCH "FREE"
GIFTS MIGHT ENTAIL. THE PROSPECT OF TANZANIA'S BUDGETARY
RESTRAINTS BEING REMOVED SEEMS TOO REMOTE TO WARRANT SERIOUS
CONTEMPLATION. AT PRESENT MOST OF THE DEVELOPMENT BUDGET
PLUS SOME OF THE REGULAR BUDGET ARE FINANCED BY EXTERNAL
ASSISTANCE.

13. THERE SEEMS LITTLE THAT US CAN DO DIRECTLY TO ENCOURAGE
TANZANIA TO EXERT RESTRAINT IN ACQUIRING ARMS (PARA 3 REFTEL). SO
LONG AS WE ARE VIEWED AS THE LEADER OF THE IMPERIALIST,
NEO-COLONIALIST CAMP, OUR INITIATIVES (EVEN IF IN CONJUNCTION WITH
THOSE OF THE USSR) WOULD PROBABLY BE SEEN AS SUSPECT. IT IS
POSSIBLE, HOWEVER, THAT WE COULD AFFECT TANZANIAN POLICY
INDIRECTLY BY ENCOURAGING ARMS RESTRAINT WITHIN THE EAST AFRICAN
COMMUNITY THROUGH KENYA OR A SUCCESSOR REGIME IN UGANDA.
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